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This 1962 report analyzes trends in population changes in New Jersey cities and the effect on the community of the rise in school segregation, trends in industry and automation, patterns in the containment of minority-group housing, and financing in city budgets. Tables and graphs present relevant statistical data. Conclusions and some areas in need of further research are discussed. (BD)

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Patterns of Change in the Cities of New Jersey

MINORITIES - NEGROES AND PUERTO RICANS - AFFECTED BY, AND AFFECTING THESE CHANGES

by MAX WOLFF

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A report based mainly on observations and findings of the Plainfield, N.J. School Study compared with statistical data now available for the other New Jersey cities with a population over 40,000.

November 1962

Dr. Max Wolff
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PATTERNS OF CHANGE IN THE CITIES OF NEW JERSEY - Minorities, Negroes and Puerto Ricans, Affected by, and Affecting, These Changes.

A report based mainly on observations and findings of the Plainfield, N.J. School Study compared with statistical data now available for the other New Jersey cities with a population over 40,000.

This reporter conducted a study of racial imbalance in the schools of Plainfield, New Jersey for the Lay Advisory Committee of the Plainfield Board of Education. As part of this study, he interviewed more than 60 citizens and representatives of citizens' organizations, as well as City officials charged with responsibility for housing, welfare, police, employment of youth, industrial expansion and urban renewal.

What were the findings in Plainfield? How typical is Plainfield? Can we generalize the findings for Plainfield in the search for solutions elsewhere?

The studies of the Regional Plan Association,[1] the Twentieth Century Fund study of Megalopolis,[2] the study of the city of Englewood[3] and the reports of the last U.S. Census all contribute to our understanding of the "spread-city" pattern of growth and change in the New York Metropolitan Region, which includes the nine northernmost counties of New Jersey. The city of Plainfield lies in the inner ring of this region and its patterns and growth problems parallel those of the larger

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1/ Vernon, Raymond, Metropolis, 1985, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1960.
2/ Gottman, Jean, Megalopolis New York, The Twentieth Century Fund, 1961.
3/ Stearns, Harry L. and Dodson, Dan W., Englewood, Its People and Its Schools, Englewood, N.J. February, 1962.

and older cities in the inner ring and in the core of the region. Solutions found for Plainfield may well be applicable elsewhere and may help, additionally, those cities that are now entering Plainfield's phase of development.

What are these characteristics of these cities and what problems do they raise?

1. Population decline.

   A pattern of greatly slowed, or absolute decline in, popula[illegible] growth over the decade 1950-60 is found in all but three of the State's cities with population of over 40,000.

   Migration of the younger white population to outlying areas beyond the central cities and their suburbs, with the remaining white population in the higher age groups.

   The Negro population, with restricted mobility, resides in the oldest of these cities. Negroes constitute an increasing proportion of the population of these cities, and a still higher proportion of the school-age children, because the Negro population is younger, and more of the Negro women are in the child-bearing years. A similar pattern is developing in those cities that have a growing Puerto Rican population.

   It is the pressure of this rapidly-growing population, seeking good income, good housing and good schools that is expressing itself in the current controversies related to segregation in housing and schools.

2. Rise in school segregation.

   Racial segregation and imbalance in the schools is growing rapidly as the segregated communities grow or as public housing adds to or even creates new concentrations of Negro families.

   De-facto segregation in the schools brings with it unequal educational opportunities, loss of potential skills, early dropouts from school. An alarming number of these young people are "functional illiterates", reading below fifth grade, prepared for only the most unskilled jobs, at a time when industry in the Region has less and less need for such labor.

3. Suburbanization of industry, automation in the cities.

Although the area is still attracting and developing new industries, there is a pattern of dispersion throughout the region, with industry and particularly the service industries, following the population as it moves away from the old centers. Industry in the centers tends to become more automated; and the types of industry the area attracts (such as radio and electronics-components manufacture and scientific-instrument making and testing) all require workers with higher skills than in the past.

The Negro young worker loses out on both counts; he cannot move freely to follow the moving service industries that customarily have employed him; in addition, he is quite generally unskilled.

4. Housing blight.

Decay in housing in the old centers of the cities, where most of the ghettoes are found, is accompanied by increasing density of population. This comes about both through private discrimination in housing and through stereotyped site selection of public low-income housing, placing large concentrations of Negro families in the traditional "Negro neighborhoods."

These neighborhoods are located in the downtown areas which are also the retail trade and commercial centers of the cities. Their decay contributes to the decline in business in the city's core. Urban renewal plans tend to center around such areas.

Yet plans for urban renewal of these areas have often been opposed by the local residents because of inadequate provision for relocation of the low-income families living there.

5. Increased city costs.

Despite the fact that these cities decline in population and income, the cost of government continues to rise, including greater expenditures for welfare, health, delinquency and renewal.

To the extent that these problems stem from the change in taste and desires of Americans today, from the transformation in the nature of our cities, the "spread-city" pattern now developing in the extensive complex area from Boston to Washington, D.C. - to that extent we

can energetically tackle their solution. It is known that they arise from the vigorous growth of our new way of life.

To the extent that these problems arise from the fact that minority groups have more limited mobility in their efforts to share in this new way of living, pressures and conflicts arise that inhibit progress.

1. POPULATION CHANGES IN NEW JERSEY CITIES

In the decade 1950-60, the population of New Jersey increased by 25.5%. This growth rate is expected to continue in the next several decades. A total population increase of 37% is estimated for the N.Y. Metropolitan Region from 1960-1985.[1/]

However, the growth in New Jersey in the last decade was primarily in the smaller towns and cities, suburbs of suburbs. Of the 22 cities with populations exceeding 40,000 in 1960, only <u>three</u> equalled or exceeded the State growth. More than half of these cities (12) actually lost population, as shown in Table I.

The cities that lost population lie at the core of the regions of New York City and of Philadelphia, or in the inner rings. It is not expected that there will be a reversal of this trend, but rather a continuation of their relative or absolute decline in population in the coming years as population spreads further and further from the central cities.

What is the relation between this decline and the proportion of minority groups in the city? Contrary to popular conceptions, the movement out of the cities is just as strong whether there are these minority groups present or not.

1/ Regional Plan Association, Bulletin 100, <u>Spread City</u>, New York, September, 1962.

Table 2 presents the same list of cities with over 40,000 population, showing only the nineteen cities that either declined in population or grew less than the average for the State. For these cities, the proportions of Negroes and of Puerto Ricans in 1960 is shown. If flight from minority groups were a principal cause of whites leaving the cities, one would expect to find a higher-than-average proportion of non-whites or of Puerto Ricans residing in all or most of these cities. But these cities show no uniform pattern of minority-group composition; they rang from 0.2% Negro in Irvington to 36.4% in Atlantic City. Similarly, the Puerto Rican population is insignificant in most of the cities, achieving a maximum of 11% in the city of Hoboken.

Table 3 shows the actual number of Puerto Ricans in the population of these 19 cities. It is interesting to note that Puerto Ricans have been settling in the cities where Negroes have not come in large numbers, for example, in such industrial towns as Passaic, Paterson, Jersey City and Hoboken.

The movement out of the cities seems to take place quite independently of the racial or ethnic composition of the cities. However, this movement is largely a movement of white families. The Negro, who shares the wish to move to the suburbs, has been less able to fulfill it both because of his lower income and because of the current patterns of suburban housing discrimination restricting his mobility. Instead, in the main the Negro has been contained in certain sections of the central cities. Hence, as the Negro population grew during the decade and the white population declined, the Negro proportion in the population increased sharply.

Even more striking is the consistently higher proportion of Negroes in the youthful populations of the cities. The Negro family with young children stays in the city, while his white counterpart leaves for the suburbs.

TABLE 1

POPULATION CHANGE IN N.J. CITIES OF OVER 40,000 FROM 1950-60

County and city	Percent increase in population 1950-60
A. Cities that declined in population or grew less than the State average of 25.5%	
Atlantic Co.	21.5%
Atlantic City	-3.4
Bergen Co.	44.7
Teaneck	24.6
Camden Co.	30.4
Camden	-5.9
Essex Co.	1.9
Bloomfield	5.2
East Orange	-2.6
Irvington	0.3
Montclair	-1.8
Newark	-7.8
Hudson Co.	-5.7
Bayonne	-3.9
Hoboken	-4.4
Jersey City	-7.7
North Bergen	2.0
Union City	-6.0
Mercer Co.	15.9
Trenton	-10.8
Middlesex Co.	63.8
New Brunswick	3.4
Passaic Co.	20.6
Passaic	-6.5
Paterson	3.1
Union Co.	26.7
Elizabeth	-4.5
Plainfield	7.0
B. Cities that grew more than the State average of 25.5%.	
Middlesex Co.	63.8
Edison	174.0
Woodbridge	120.5
Passaic Co.	20.6
Clifton	27.2

Source: U.S. Census of Population: 1960 Final Report PC(1)-32B N.J.Table 13

TABLE 2

NEGROES[1] AND PUERTO RICANS AS A PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION AND OF POPULATION UNDER 18 YEARS OF AGE AND MEDIAN AGES OF FEMALES FOR 19 NEW JERSEY CITIES[2], 1960.

City	Total Population		Pop. under 18	Median age of females		
	Percent Negro	Percent Puerto Rican	Percent Negro	White	Negro	P.R.
State	8.7%	1.0%				
Atlantic City	36.4%	0.2%	47.3%	48.3	32.7	-
Teaneck	4.2	0.3	3.7	36.6	32.2	-
Camden	23.8	3.2	30.5	35.2	24.0	16.2
Bloomfield	1.5	0.1	1.8	37.0	31.8	-
East Orange	25.1	0.2	33.7	44.3	30.6	-
Irvington	0.2	0.1	-	40.6	-	-
Montclair	24.1	0.1	23.5	41.4	36.2	-
Newark	34.4	2.4	42.7	36.7	25.5	19.2
Bayonne	3.3	0.6	4.4	35.3	27.1	-
Hoboken	3.4	11.0	4.9	32.4	19.6	16.5
Jersey City	13.5	2.7	18.2	36.4	23.8	19.5
North Bergen	0.3	0.2	-	37.9	-	-
Union City	0.3	2.2	-	37.1	-	21.8
Trenton	22.6	1.6	31.1	39.4	24.2	-
New Brunswick	15.8	1.4	23.7	33.0	23.8	-
Passaic	8.8	3.2	12.1	38.5	26.6	18.9
Paterson	14.9	3.6	21.0	36.5	22.8	18.9
Elizabeth	11.0	1.1	15.6	36.3	23.3	22.5
Plainfield	21.9	0.1	25.4	35.7	27.5	-

Source: U.S. Census of Population: 1960 Final Report PC (1)-32B N.J. Tables 13 and 20
U.S. Censuses of Population and Housing, PHC(1)-91. Tables P-4 and P-

[1] The terms Negro and nonwhite are used interchangeably because Negroes comprise a minimum of 97% of the nonwhites in New Jersey.

[2] The 19 cities selected and grouped by county are those found in Table 1 that have a population over 40,000 and that grew less than the State average in the decade, 1950-60.

TABLE 3

PUERTO RICANS IN NEW JERSEY, 1960

County and city	No. Puerto Ricans*
State	55,351
Atlantic Co.	922
Atlantic City	133
Bergen Co.	2,001
Teaneck	145
Burlington Co.	1,467
Camden Co.	4,012
Camden	3,757
Cape May Co.	--
Cumberland Co.	1,573
Essex Co.	10,364
Bloomfield	63
East Orange	160
Irvington	85
Montclair	34
Newark	9,698
Gloucester Co.	558
Hudson Co.	14,911
Bayonne	437
Hoboken	5,313
Jersey City	7,427
North Bergen	98
Union City	1,122
Hunterdon Co.	--
Mercer Co.	2,013
Trenton	1,803
Middlesex Co.	4,710
New Brunswick	570
Monmouth Co.	1,685
Morris Co.	714
Ocean Co.	571
Passaic Co.	7,139
Passaic	1,713
Paterson	5,123
Salem Co.	227
Somerset Co.	316
Sussex Co.	316
Union Co.	1,649
Elizabeth	1,140
Plainfield	54
Warren Co.	148

Source: U.S. Censuses of Population and Housing: 1960 Final Report PHC(1) Census Tracts Table P-1

* Number of persons born in Puerto Rico or of Puerto Rican parentage.

Thus, among the children and the young workers, the Negro and the Puerto Rican constitute a considerably higher proportion than in the general population. Table 2 compares the percentage of Negroes in the general population with the percentage of Negroes in the age groups under 18 years. Unfortunately, this breakdown is not yet available in the Census reports for the Puerto Rican youngsters.

Of interest, too, in forecasting the future composition of these cities, is the tabulation of the median ages of females, white, Negro and Puerto Rican (where available) also given in Table 2. The comparative youthfulness of the female Negro population and the even younger median age of the Puerto Rican population is indicative both of the larger number of younger children in these groups and the larger number of women in their child-bearing years. In sharp contrast, the median age of white females is usually in the upper thirties,

even

though this median age includes female children. Clearly, the average white population in the cities is well near the end of its child-bearing years.

It is obvious from these trends that the minority groups will continue to increase their proportion in the population at an accelerated rate, even without additions from outside the cities, as white families continue to leave and Negroes continue to be restrained from leaving the cities.

Although Puerto Ricans* constituted less than one percent of the population of the State of New Jersey in 1960, more current data indicates that this percentage will increase at a pace more rapid than in the last

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* Migrants or children of migrants.

decade. It is estimated[1/] that there has been a 12-18% increase in Puerto Rican population since 1960. Most of the migrants in the last decade settled in New York City, principally in Manhattan. However, as information about mainland employment opportunities became more widespread both on the Island and in New York City, more and more Puerto Rican families have ventured out of the City. It is estimated that currently nearly 40% of the newly arrived migrants go directly to cities outside of New York.[1/] New Jersey can expect to receive a growing proportion of this incoming population.

In 1960, the Puerto Rican population of New Jersey was 55,351, distributed as shown in Table 3. They tended to settle in the inner ring of counties, Hudson, Essex and Passaic, with another concentration in the inner ring associated with Philadelphia.

To estimate how large the growth will be in the coming decade, it is helpful to trace the migration trends in the past. (Table 4 and Chart 1). As indicated in the graph of annual net-migration from Puerto Rico, economic conditions in the continental U.S. are the critical factor in determining the number of Puerto Ricans who will come to the mainland. Because of the relative ease of return to the Island, those who cannot find satisfactory work go home. Hence the graph of net-migration is very closely attuned to the graph of prosperity and recession in the U.S. The greatest spurt of migration came in 1953 when 69,124 Puerto Ricans came and stayed. The low point since then was 1961, a recession year, when the mainland had a net <u>loss</u> of Puerto Rican population of 1,754. The data for 1962 for the months from January through September parallel the year 1960 most closely. In that year, there was a net-migration of only 16,298. 1962 should have a similar

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1/ Migration Division, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. New York, N.Y.

TABLE 4

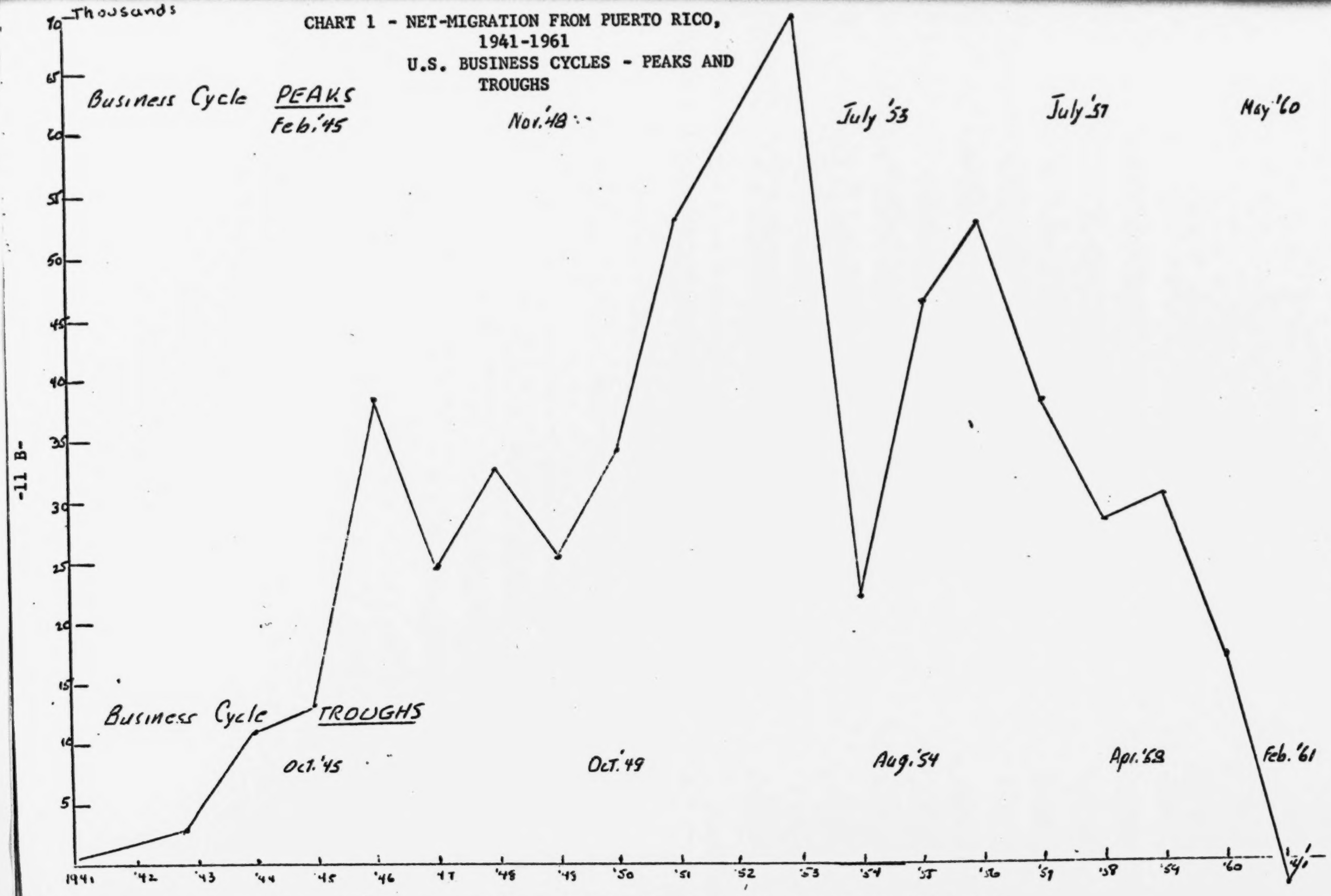
NET MIGRATION FROM PUERTO RICO, 1939-1961*

Year	Number	Year	Number
1939	33,035	1950	34,703
		1951	52,899
1940	-425	1952	59,103
1941	643	1953	69,124
1942	1,679	1954	21,531
1943	3,204		
1944	11,201	1955	45,464
		1956	52,315
1945	13,573	1957	37,704
1946	39,911	1958	27,690
1947	24,551	1959	29,989
1948	32,775		
1949	25,698	1960	16,298
		1961	-1,754

Source: San Juan Office, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice.

*Net migration is the number of persons departing from Puerto Rico for the continental U.S. or elsewhere, minus the number of arrivals in Puerto Rico. Transient passengers and tourists are excluded. Departures for and arrivals from places other than the continental U.S. are a relatively small proportion of the total. The minus sign is used to indicate a net outflow from the continental U.S.

CHART 1 - NET-MIGRATION FROM PUERTO RICO, 1941-1961
U.S. BUSINESS CYCLES - PEAKS AND TROUGHS



Source: San Juan Office, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice
Business cycle: "Business Cycle Developments", U.S. Department of Commerce, Bur of the Census, Oct.1962

pattern.

Since the migration is so closely tied to economic conditions, all estimates are speculative. However, if the next ten years are similar to the last ten years when a net total of 357,464 Puerto Ricans came and stayed on the mainland, we can expect that about 90,000 or roughly one-quarter of the migration is likely to settle in New Jersey.

In addition to the newly-arrived migrant, Puerto Ricans now living in New York City are likely to come to New Jersey following the general trend of movement away from the core of the Region. This latter process may well be accelerated as a result of the extensive urban renewal activity in New York City. Thousands of Puerto Rican families will have to be relocated under these renewal plans and New Jersey will doubtless absorb many of them.

A fuller analysis of this trend of rapid change in racial composition of the cities was made for the city of Plainfield in the study of racial imbalance in the schools.[1/] The population of Plainfield grew 7% from 1950 to 1960. However, this growth is a composite of an absolute decline in the white population (from 36,598 to 35,389) and a substantial increase in the number of nonwhites. In 1950, nonwhites comprised 14 percent of the population; in 1960, nearly 22%.

1/ Wolff, Max, Racial Imbalance in the Plainfield Public Schools, New York, June, 1962. Tables 5,6 are reprinted from this study.

TABLE 5

PLAINFIELD POPULATION CHANGES 1950=60

1950	Total	White	Nonwhite	Percent Nonwhite
All ages	42,336	36,598	5,768	14%
5-14 years	5,745	4,898	847	15
1960				
All ages	45,330	35,389	9,941	22%
5-14 years	7,761	5,848	1,913	25

Source: Compiled from U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1960 PC (1)-32B N.J. Table 20 and 1950 PC N.J. Table 3

Since the census was taken in 1960, there was a marked acceleration of this process of change in racial composition, particularly in the public school enrollment. Table 5, above, shows that school-age (5-14 years) Negro children comprised 25% of all children of that age group. In the public schools at that time (1960) Negro children made up an estimated 28% of the enrollment. (The difference reflects the fact that the private and parochial school enrollments were almost all of white children). However, by 1962, a count of the Negro children in the elementary and junior high schools of Plainfield showed that the proportion of Negro children had gone up to 35%, an increase of 7 percent points in two years, or 3½% a year.

The number of white children in the elementary and junior high schools had declined (a reversal of the 1950-60 trend, reflecting the decline in the total white population during the decade). The number of Negro children had continued to increase. Thus the proportion of Negroes in the total school enrollment took a sharp upturn.

In short, if these trends continue, Plainfield may expect to have a majority of Negroes in its public elementary school enrollment in five years. If present zoning is maintained in the elementary schools, several of the presently imbalanced schools will become segregated schools.

Where has the white population that left Plainfield gone? It is interesting to observe the development in two neighboring communities. North Plainfield had a population increase of 33.1% from 1950-60 with only 0.6% nonwhite in 1960; South Plainfield had a dramatic growth of 123.3% from 1950-60 with a nonwhite population of 2.3%. A third of North Plainfield's population and 42% of South Plainfield's population was under 18 years of age in 1960. We cannot conclude, of course, that this growth was entirely or even largely from Plainfield's migrants.

However, we can say

1. Younger families of Plainfield's white population are moving from the city, leaving behind the older white families with fewer children.

2. Nearby suburbs are growing rapidly, with a younger age group, predominantly white.

3. Negro families, young in age, and with more children, are staying on in the older city.

4. The composite of these factors is an increase in the Negro proportion in the public school enrollment of 3½% a year.

2. RISE IN SCHOOL SEGREGATION-ITS EFFECT ON THE COMMUNITY

In the spring of 1962, 37% of Plainfield's elementary school children were Negroes;[1] 28% of the junior-high school children, and 19% of the high school pupils. The high school enrollment shows a strikingly lower percentage of Negroes because of two factors: the return to the public school of the parochial school (white) children and the higher high school dropout rate for Negro children.

Although Negroes constituted 37% of the elementary school population, nearly 68% of the Negro children attended segregated or racially unbalanced schools. A balanced school is defined here as one where the proportion of minority group children does not fall more than one-third above or below their proportion in the public school enrollment as a whole. For Plainfield, this would be between 24 and 49% Negro in any one school.

Plainfield has one de-facto segregated Negro school (Washington, 95% Negro). Additional racial imbalance (with a Negro population of over 50 percent) exists in three other schools. Of Plainfield's 11 elementary schools, only three had a balanced population, reflecting the actual proportion of Negro children in the school population.

Some of the schools not balanced in June 1962 (Bryant, 57% Negro; Stillman 60%; and Emerson 65%)may become segregated schools very soon through the rapid growth of Plainfield's young Negro population in the zones served by these schools. Two other schools (Clinton, 46%, and Jefferson, 43%) may move over to the unbalanced school column as Negro population density in their zones increases.

1/ The Puerto Rican percentage is not given because there were only 21 Puerto Rican children in Plainfield's public schools in 1962.

How does this imbalance affect Plainfield? How does it compare with the findings in other northern cities?

The decision of the Supreme Court[1] in 1954 which declared that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal," appears to be borne out wherever a study of such facilities has been made, independent of whether separation is enforced by legal means or by social practice.

Studies in New York City,[2] in Chicago,[3] in Detroit,[4] in Englewood,[5] in Gary, Indiana[6], despite the great variations in the life patterns of these cities, indicate that segregated schooling has resulted in inferior education for the Negro, Puerto Rican and other minority group children.

The stigma of inferiority associated with the segregated Negro (and more recently, Puerto Rican) neighborhood affects the school commonly known as a "Negro School." Teachers are less willing to serve in such schools[7] and the children, to the extent that they accept the community's evaluation of them, are more limited in their striving for personal growth.

1/ Brown v. Board of Education 347 U.S. 483.
2/ Public Education Association and NYU Research Center for Human Relations, The Status of the Public School Education of Negro and Puerto Rican Children in New York City, New York, October, 1955.
3/ Crisis, De-Facto Segregation In The Chicago Public Schools, Vol.65, February 1958.
4/ Citizens' Advisory Committee on Equal Educational Opportunities, Board of Education, City of Detroit, Findings and Recommendations, March, 1962.
5/ Stearns, Harry L and Dodson, Dan W., Englewood, Its People and its Schools, Englewood, Board of Education, February 28, 1962.
6/ Wolff, Max, De Facto Segregation in Gary, Indiana, New York, September, 1962
7/ Rivlin, Harry, N. Teachers For The Schools of Our Big Cities. Schoolman's Week Program, University of Pennsylvania, October 12,1962.

An integrated school environment, free of the stigma attached to the segregated community, is a precondition for helping the child outgrow his negative evaluation of himself and his chances in our society.

In New York City, segregated schools were found to be two years and four months behind the predominantly white schools in 8th-grade reading achievement test scores. Only 50.3 percent of the teachers in the segregated elementary schools had tenure as compared with 78.2% of the teachers in the white schools. Teacher turnover was substantially higher.[1/]

In Gary, Indiana, 63% of the teachers in the segregated Negro schools are without tenure as against 51% for the predominantly white schools. Principals in the Negro schools carry a pupil load of over 1,100 children; in the white schools, 770 children. Expenditures per child for textbooks and instructional supplies are about 10% more for white than for Negro schools. Overcrowding, a severe problem in this rapidly-growing city, is almost three times as great in the Negro schools as in the white schools. Here again, achievement of children in the Negro schools responds to the disparity in educational opportunity. The Negro schools in 1961-62 were a year and two months behind the white schools in 8th-grade reading achievement.[2/]

Although Plainfield's schools are generally good, with Negro children performing better than in the findings for New York City, nevertheless, the study revealed disparities in administration-controlled factors in a wide range of educational attributes of the schools.

1/ Public Education Association, The Status of the Public School Education of Negro and Puerto Rican Children in N.Y.C., October, 1955.

2/ Max Wolff, op.cit.

The Washington School, 95% Negro, consistently ranked among the lowest in nearly all of the factors considered, including such significant and critical educational criteria as pupils per administrator, turnover of staff, and number of experienced teachers. The rank of Washington School in these various attributes is given in Table 6.

TABLE 6

RANK OF WASHINGTON SCHOOL[1]

	Out of	Rank[2]
Physical Characteristics		
Age of original building	8	7
Size of site	10	7
Building space per pupil	9	8
Instructional area per pupil	10	8
Playground space per pupil	10	8
Library		None
Educational equipment	6	5
School organization		
Enrollment	11	10
Utilization[3]	9	2
Average class size	10	6
Special Instruction		
Percent of enrollment receiving		
Instruction for the gifted	9	4
Remedial reading and speech	11	11
Needing remedial help	11	11
Special subject teaching		
Art (pupils per teacher day)	11	10
Music " " " "	11	7
Physical education (pupils per teacher day)	11	10
Nurse care	11	10
Pupils per clerk	11	10

(continued on next page)

TABLE 6 (cont'd.)

	Out of	Rank
Administration and teachers		
Pupils per administrator	7	7
Percent teachers with tenure	10	9
Percent with BA or higher degree	10	7
Percent with 5 or more years experience	11	9
Turnover (% left in 5 years)	11	11
Cost per pupil		
Annual expenditures	11	6
Annual expenditures for administration and teachers	7	6
Pupil achievement		
Reading, 1961 - 4th grade	11	11
6th grade	11	11
Arithmetic, 1961 - 4th grade	6	6
6th grade	9	9
Change in achievement in 6th grade reading '57 - '61	11	10

The difficulty of properly staffing the de-facto segregated school is a chronic problem throughout the North. High teacher turnover, fewer teachers with tenure, experience and adequate educational qualifications are critical problems of segregated schools that seriously hamper the success of the educational process in these schools.

1/ First rank in each category is given to the school having the most favorable, or least undesirable, standing.

2/ Ties were assigned the same rank. The total of 11 schools to be compared was reduced by the number of ties.

3/ Based on deviation from 90-percent utilization.

In Plainfield, pupil-achievement data showed a marked disparity between the white and Negro schools, with a gap of one year and six months in reading achievement in the 6th-grade.

The gap in reading achievement is a handicap that persists through the integrated junior and senior high school. Negro children from the Washington School are largely assigned to the "slow" learning tracks in the secondary schools. The curriculum is modified and the subjects offered more meager. Even those who persist until graduation from high school are poorly educated and most of them do not have the prerequisites for continuing their education. Still more handicapped are the 40% who drop out of school even before high-school graduation.

A poignant picture is given by the record of the Negro children from the Washington School who were 6th-graders there in 1955 and who would have been in the high school graduating class of June, 1961 if they had remained in the Plainfield public schools.

Washington 6th-graders, 1954-55

Total class.....39

Dropouts in junior high	1
Dropouts in senior high	15
Transfers	4
Deceased	1
High school graduates	18
	39

Of the 18 high school graduates, 13 had been in the "Y" or slow track in high school and half of the children ranked in the lowest 20% of their graduating class. A comparison of the Negro children from the segregated Washington School and Negro children from the mixed Emerson School (65% Negro) showed striking differences in the number of dropouts (40% as compared with 10%), the number who went on to further education

(17% as compared to 46%) and the number placed in slow tracks in high school (61% as against 46%). However, the small number of cases involved in this comparison makes generalization from these data unreliable.

The high rate of dropouts from the segregated schools of Plainfield is paralleled by data from nearly all northern communities with de facto segregated schools. The occupational plight of these young people has become an issue of national concern.

The U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics has completed several significant studies of this problem. Herbert Bienstock, Regional Director for the Middle Atlantic Region, puts it thus:[1/]

> Altogether, 26 million young people will enter the labor force during the 1960's, 40% more than in the decade of the fifties....
>
> While the task of absorbing this vast stream of young people pouring into the work force in the decade of the 1960's is a difficult one at best, it is complicated indeed for the high school dropout. This group of young people seem certain to be among the economic displaced persons of the 1960's, although more accurately they can be described as the 'unplaced' persons of the 1960's.
>
> Even today the unemployment rate for the high school dropout runs about four times as high as the rate for persons with some college education and twice as high as the rate for high school graduates. Certainly in the years ahead, as the demand for skills increases and the demand for unskilled workers declines, it is to be anticipated that the untrained, unskilled dropout will find the going difficult in the labor force of the space age.

Negro parents are acutely aware of this. If we compound the general problem of the unskilled youth with discrimination against Negroes in job opportunities, the anxiety of the Negro parents is both understandable and realistic. This anxiety explains the vigor and insistence with which the current controversies on school desegregation are pursued by the Negro community.

1/ Bienstock, Herbert The Displaced Person of the 1960's. Paper delivered June 4, 1962, Atlantic City, before conference of Jewish Communal Services.

A thoughtful citizenry and responsible community officials will share this anxiety. At issue, in addition to the physical and psychological well-being of the individual youth, is the general prosperity of our cities, their ability to attract new industries requiring a skilled labor force, and the cost to the city of supporting a rapidly-growing, unemployed young population.

3. INDUSTRIAL TRENDS AND AUTOMATION

It is estimated[1/] that 2.2 million additional jobs will open up in the New York Metropolitan Region by 1985, about a million of them in the New Jersey counties in the Region, an increase for New Jersey of 61%.

Although the new industries are expected to continue to cluster close to the centers, the growth will be most rapid in the cities farther from the center. If we rank the New Jersey counties of the Region by expected percentage growth in employment, lowest first, we find that the counties group themselves roughly by their closeness to N.Y.C.

TABLE 7

PERCENT INCREASE IN NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES

1960-1985

Hudson County	13%
Essex	14
Union	58
Passaic	65
Bergen	70
Middlesex	124
Somerset	131
Monmouth	180
Morris	186

Source: Computed from Table 1, "Spread-City". Regional Plan Assn. Bulletin 100.

1/ Metropolis 1985, op. cit.

Employment in the counties with the large cities will grow the most slowly. Like all Americans, the minority groups will seek to move to those new centers where job opportunities are expanding. This factor will add to the pressure of the Negro community against containment in the older cities.

What kinds of jobs will these new jobs be? Manufacturing has historically been the largest single employer of labor in the Region and it is expected that it will continue thus, despite the fact that New York is so important a commercial, trade and financial center, and despite the fact that manufacturing in the Region will continue to be a less and less important segment of the nation's manufacturing industry.

The Region has a vigorous "mix" of many industries and its attraction for other new industries lies, in part, in that fact. New, experimental products need other industries as suppliers or customers; fashion-conscious industries, that must be responsive to quick changes in consumer wants, rely on the availability of other industries and a variety of expert services. Industries, such as printing, that custom-process their product to the buyer's needs, are attracted by the nearness of their principal buyers. The Region's success in the future rests on its past success in attracting so wide a variety of industries, services and talent.

On the other hand, industries that produce a stable product with an established national market are likely to be more interested in economy in their labor costs than in nearness to other industries.

Hence the trends over the decade have been for industries such as textiles that produce a well-established product to seek cheaper labor costs out of the Region and for industries, like electronics,

still experimental and changing, to settle in the Region because of its accessibility to other industrial suppliers, to research and technical personnel.

Plainfield's loss of the Mack Truck Company, employing 2,700 employees to the lower labor cost area of Cumberland, Maryland reflects this trend as does the rapid growth of the Lockheed Electronics Company, now employing about 1,000 at its Watchung Mountain location near Plainfield.

Another trend of significance in manufacturing is the increase in productivity through mechanization and automation. One way of measuring this development is to trace the change in the number of plants employing more than 500 workers. A comparison of the U.S. Department of Commerce's County Business Patterns for the years 1951 and 1959 indicates that even in that short period a considerable increase in productivity took place in the old industrial centers of N.J.

Of New Jersey's 21 counties, only four lost such plants (over 500 employees), two were unchanged and 15 gained large plants.

Hudson and Essex Counties are especially interesting as the greatest employers of industrial labor in New Jersey. From 1951 to 1959, Hudson Co. increased its number of 500-employee plants from 47 to 48, but went down in employment from 225,464 to 210,849. Essex Co. retained its 70 large plants, increased the number of its business units from 21,721 to 22,286, yet lost in total employment. In 1951, 336,393 persons were employed; in 1959, 323,876.

Passaic increased its number of large plants from 24 to 32, but had a net loss in number employed (from 130,954 to 129,176). Salem Co. gained 55 new businesses but lost about 1,900 jobs.

These changes in productivity and in the nature of the plants attracted to the Region indicate what types of workers will be most in demand in the coming years. Automated industries require fewer workers, but more skilled ones. Jean Gottmann describes it thus:

> Mechanization and automation have already demonstrated that they can replace a good deal of manpower in the processes of production, either agricultural or manufacturing. In the service industries, however, they have not saved much in terms of payrolls...the first reason for this is that the machines themselves have to be serviced. ....to service and repair a machine usually requires more knowledge than does operating one. This means that automation of services will require better trained 'blue-collar' workers.1/

Donald M. Halliday, industrial relations director of Lockheed Electronics is quoted in the Plainfield Courier-News (April 16,1962) thus:

> Our search for skilled design engineers, for scientists and for highly skilled technicians is never ended.

Those manufacturing industries that use large numbers of unskilled or semi-skilled workers will continue to leave the Region to achieve labor-cost economies.

How will the Negro and Puerto Rican worker fare as industry continues to develop along these lines? The problems of schooling and training discussed earlier are critical in determining the kinds of jobs he will be qualified to hold, assuming that job discrimination because of race or ethnic background will be reduced.

The 1960 Census gives us a picture of the kind of jobs these minority-group workers now hold. In the 19 cities we are discussing, 10.1% of the Negroes in the labor force were unemployed in 1960. Unemployment rates for Puerto Ricans ran even higher, from 5.7% in Passaic to 17.6% in Bayonne. (See Table 10).
Those employed were found predominantly in the least-skilled, lowest-paid jobs.

1/ Megalopolis 1985, p. 621.

TABLE 10

NEGRO AND PUERTO RICAN WORKERS UNEMPLOYED IN 1960 FOR EACH OF 19 SELECTED N.J. CITIES

City	Percent of labor force unemployed	
	Negro	Puerto Rican*
Atlantic City	13.3%	no data
Teaneck	4.5	no data
Camden	8.6	11.4%
Bloomfield	6.7	no data
East Orange	5.6	no data
Irvington	no data	
Montclair	4.2	no data
Newark	11.6	9.8
Bayonne	11.9	17.6
Hoboken	8.8	12.7
Jersey City	8.7	10.2
North Bergen	no data	
Union City	no data	
Trenton	9.9	no data
New Brunswick	11.0	no data
Passaic	7.2	5.7
Paterson	12.9	12.8
Elizabeth	9.8	11.7
Plainfield	5.8	no data

Source: Censuses of Population and Housing; Census tracts for the appropriate SMSA Tables P-4 and P-5

*Male only.

TABLE 9

MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP OF EMPLOYED NEGRO WORKERS, 1960, FOR EACH OF 19 SELECTED CITIES
(over 40,000 population, percentage growth less than the average for the State, 1950-60)

City	All occup. 100%	Prof. tech. kindred	Mngrs. officials propr.	Clerical & kind.	Sales	Crafts. forem. kind.	Oper. & kind.	Priv. H.H. wkrs.	Service exc. hh.	Laborers	Occup. not reported
Atlantic City	100.0%	3.0%	2.8%	5.3%	1.7%	4.8%	18.4%	10.0%	37.0%	7.0%	10.1%
Teaneck	100.0%	17.5	2.3	14.9	2.1	4.4	17.1	20.2	7.3	4.9	9.2
Camden	100.0%	4.3	1.5	7.3	2.5	8.3	30.8	10.9	15.5	11.2	7.7
Bloomfield	100.0%	9.7	5.6	9.4	2.8	9.7	28.9	11.7	12.5	5.3	4.4
East Orange	100.0%	9.4	2.1	11.9	2.3	9.1	25.8	9.5	12.7	5.2	12.0
Irvington	no data										
Montclair	100.0%	8.9	2.8	9.7	2.6	7.1	21.9	18.1	15.6	6.6	6.8
Newark	100.0%	3.1	1.1	7.3	2.0	6.8	33.6	6.9	10.9	10.4	18.0
Bayonne	100.0%	4.7	1.2	6.7	1.0	7.7	39.6	8.2	7.0	11.1	12.9
Hoboken	100.0%	4.8	2.6	4.6	-	6.1	40.7	1.8	11.9	12.7	14.6
Jersey City	100.0%	4.9	1.2	8.3	1.2	5.9	39.5	4.6	12.0	12.7	9.6
North Bergen	no data										
Union City	no data										
Trenton	100.0%	4.3	1.6	6.8	1.1	6.0	27.7	10.5	20.3	12.1	9.5
New Brunswick	100.0%	4.5	1.9	5.7	1.9	4.8	32.4	13.3	12.2	16.0	7.5
Passaic	100.0%	4.1	1.4	6.0	0.7	7.8	35.9	10.8	12.0	9.1	12.1
Paterson	100.0%	2.1	0.7	4.6	0.7	6.7	39.6	10.6	7.0	12.1	16.0
Elizabeth	100.0%	3.2	1.2	6.3	1.2	6.4	39.7	9.5	12.1	11.5	8.9
Plainfield	100.0%	5.0	1.8	5.7	2.0	7.2	28.8	14.5	13.2	11.1	10.6

Source: Censuses of Housing and Population, (Census tracts for the appropriate SMSA) Table P-4.

TABLE 8

MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP OF EMPLOYED NEGRO WORKERS 1960 FOR 19 SELECTED CITIES IN N.J.

Occupation group	Percent
All occupations	100.0%
Professional, technical and kindred workers	4.3%
Managers, officials and proprietors	1.5
Clerical and kindred workers	7.4
Sales workers	1.8
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	6.7
Operatives and kindred workers	31.9
Private household workers	8.8
Service workers, except private household	14.0
Laborers	10.3
Occupations not reported	13.3

Source: Computed from Census Tracts Table P-4 for appropriate SMSA.

Combined, the operatives, laborers, household and other service workers made up 65% of the employed Negro labor force. The largest single group, operatives and kindred workers, making up nearly 32% of the Negro labor force in these 19 cities are the very ones most likely to be hit hard by the industrial changes now under way in the Region, particularly in the cities where they now live. Table 9 details the percentage of Negro workers employed in each occupation for each of the cities under discussion.

An additional factor pressing for greater mobility for this group of workers is that the service industries, which employ nearly 23% of the Negro labor force, will be diminishing in the cities and increasing in the suburbs as rapidly as the population moves out. Household employment, of course, is immediately affected, but retail trade, restaurants, hospitals and other service occupations will soon follow

population movements.

There is much commuting now between the centers where the Negro lives and the suburbs where he works, but the pressure for following the job must increase as the cost and inconvenience of this travel increases.

What does this add up to:

1. N.J. will prosper with its most rapid industrial growth outside of the central cities.

2. In the cities, automation and mechanization will demand a more highly skilled worker.

3. Service industries will follow the population into the suburbs of suburbs.

4. The Negro worker, who presently is employed largely as a factory operative or a service worker, will be thrown out of work unless he improves his skills or moves to follow the industry that employs him.

From the point of view of the welfare of the community and the needs of industry, every effort must be made to help the Negro worker have freedom of motion and opportunity to train himself for higher skills.

4. PATTERNS OF CONTAINMENT IN HOUSING

Plainfield provides a good example of current practices and trends in housing for minority groups.

Historically, the Negro community first developed in the central downtown area. As the population grew, it spread east and west filling the older homes that whites had left as they improved their economic status and moved to more desirable sections of Plainfield or its suburbs. Seventh Street, running east and west marks a sharp residential color line. South of Seventh St. is almost entirely white, with larger homes and grounds.

Most recently some Negro families with higher incomes have bought homes at the eastern end of town where clusters of Negro houses alternate with clusters of white houses. Only one small enclave of Negro families can be found south of Seventh St. where the bulk of the white population lives.

This pattern is familiar to almost every northern community. Familiar too is the path that is followed of deterioration and blight. The oldest sections, where the lowest-income families live, is, as elsewhere, the center of the retail trade and commercial interests. As the density of population increases, these locations become more undesirable. Trade goes to the newer, super-shopping areas on the highways where parking is no problem. Business suffers and there is a move for redevelopment and renewal. The city is losing some of its most valuable tax resources, so badly needed.

The renewal in Plainfield is designed to remove residences and substitute public buildings, park areas or parking space - various plans have been suggested. The Negro resident, who is eager for better housing

would welcome renewal if it improved his lot. However, Plainfield is at present not planning to provide new housing within his economic reach. Urban renewal will simply provide for his removal. This same pattern in Englewood has led to the organization of the Negro community against the renewal plans of that city. New York, Newark and Hoboken are all facing the same issue.

Experience elsewhere (Lincoln Center in N.Y.C. for example) has shown that where the renewal plans have gone through without providing new housing for the displaced families, other areas have become more intensely segregated and overcrowded.

A third major factor leading to the increase in segregation and density of population in ghetto areas is public housing. Here the communities' officials are in a position of a high order of control as contrasted with the problem of regulating housing practices of thousands of individual real estate operators, mortgage companies and the like.

Plainfield's public housing program is fairly typical. Identical patterns were found in Gary, Indiana and in New York City by this reporter. Two low-income projects have been built, one only about a year old. The sites selected for these projects are in the heart of the segregated Negro community. The two projects are only two blocks apart. The older one, West End Gardens, is almost 100 percent Negro judging by the school children living there. The new one Elmwood Gardens is about 70 percent Negro, but the pattern elsewhere indicates that even this degree of integration does not persist if the project is in a segregated neighborhood.

The density of population is very much greater in the projects than in the surrounding streets and this density is felt in every aspect of

living; first of all, in the schools. It is these projects that provide a large part of the enrollments of the segregated Washington School and the nearby, racially-unbalanced Stillman School.

Public policy has failed in Plainfield to distribute its essential public-housing projects in such a way as to prevent continued segregation of neighborhoods and schools. The city's planning has served to intensify segregation and to perpetuate it.

The latest moves in the public housing field to build smaller units scattered through mixed neighborhoods, avoiding the old segregated areas and to assure a balanced population in the projects after they are built are important advances.

The data on movement of white population seem to lead to additional conclusions: measures to end residential segregation must be enacted and enforced on a inter-regional or State basis, so that minority group families can gain access to formerly proscribed areas not only in the cities but in the suburbs as well.

5. FINANCING THE CITY BUDGET

It would appear that the older cities, with their schools, sewers and water systems well established, might find their expenditures relatively less burdensome than the new undeveloped communities. The opposite, however, appears to be the case. A special study of 64 communities in the five innermost N.J. counties conducted by the N.Y. Metropolitan Region Study is summarized thus:

> Contrary to the general impression, high expenditure in many items seem the rule where oldsters are heavily represented in a community - possibly because old people and old facilities go together. Finally, when the residents of a community exhibit the hallmarks of affluence, the expenditures of their community tend to be low, particularly in the categories of health and welfare.
>
> The sum and substance of the analysis seems to be this: The older cities, bearing the stamps of obsolescence, high density, high industrialization, and aging inhabitants, generate higher expenses than their size alone might have led one to expect. The fact that such cities are spared some of the costs of newer communities, such as the get-going costs in opening new neighborhoods and the costs of a large school-going population, seems not to have produced a sufficient offset to the higher costs associated with age and obsolescence.[1]

A significant part of these additional costs, and a growing part, are those factors discussed throughout this paper. High rates of unemployment involve high welfare costs. Slum conditions increase health needs and expenditures. Youthful discouragement generates delinquency and its many social costs.

At the same time, loss of industry and trade reduces ratables. Blight and overcrowding reduce real estate values and tax revenues. Essentially the problem lies in the straightforward fact that if the population of a city is poor, the revenue of the city is meager and its financial needs are greater.

1/ Metropolis, 1985. Raymond Vernon, p. 172

The low incomes of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in New Jersey cities at present indicates the magnitude of the problem. (See Table 11.)

TABLE 11

INCOMES OF NEGROES AND PUERTO RICANS IN 19 N.J. CITIES

Median income of families and unrelated individuals, 1960

City	Negroes	Puerto Ricans
Atlantic City	$ 2,194	-
Teaneck	5,216	-
Camden	3,599	$ 3,475
Bloomfield	4,830	-
East Orange	5,105	-
Irvington	no data	no data
Montclair	4,381	-
Newark	3,710	3,479
Bayonne	3,446	-
Hoboken	3,366	3,667
Jersey City	3,868	3,791
North Bergen	no data	no data
Union City	no data	3,772
Trenton	3,772	-
New Brunswick	3,327	-
Passaic	4,038	3,893
Paterson	3,734	3,334
Elizabeth	4,063	4,475
Plainfield	3,914	-

Source: U.S. Censuses of Population and Housing. PHC(1) Tables P-4 and P-5 for appropriate Census Tracts.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

The concentration of the minority groups in the ghettoes of the cities, in addition to creating the many problems discussed here, has also provided one mechanism for the change that is needed. Greater political influence and stronger community ties have resulted in more vocal Negro and Puerto Rican communities and in the election of public officials who are more responsive to this voice. We are now experiencing the dynamics of change and reform in many New Jersey cities and towns.

How rapidly and how painlessly these reforms will be effected will depend on the far-sightedness of public officials and on the necessary education of the whole population to the community's need for such reform.

Nor is the task as difficult as it may appear when all the many problems and issues are reviewed. The "vicious cycle" discussed by Gunnar Myrdal in "The American Dilemma" of low income=poor housing=poor education=unskilled jobs=low income and so on forever, has this saving grace. If the problem is attacked successfully at any one point, the cycle is broken and begins to operate in the opposite direction.

A successful drive for school integration and better education for the young Negro will qualify him for a better job resulting in a better income and so on. Similarly, a serious break in the housing discrimination pattern will provide the child an integrated, better school, better education, better job and so on.

This process has taken place to a meager extent through a bootstrap effort by the Negro himself, painfully and over a long period of time.

However, even a short view ahead indicates that public policy must now grasp the nettle and give leadership to effecting these reforms.

Some areas in need of further research:

1. Education:

   To what extent is de facto segregation of the Negro child per se a cause of low achievement?

   Causes of school dropout: what programs can be developed to prevent dropout from school, to stimulate the desire to learn.

   After desegregation, how can integration of students in a school be achieved?

   The Educational Center - a possible solution?

2. Housing:

   Public Housing developments and their impact on neighborhoods in the State of New Jersey

   Relocation procedures as practiced in the State of New Jersey.

   What problems arise in the racially and ethnically integrated housing program and how can they be met?

3. Industry and Commerce:

   Changes in the production process-automation and mechanization- training for changing skill needs.

   Migration of industry and commerce from the core city to its suburbs:- what measures can the city take to retain its industries and attract others?

   Mobility of labor:- limitations on labor's opportunity to follow the job.

4. The City:

   Population movements in urban areas and how they affect the tax base.

   Development of a formula to help cities evaluate their industrial potential.

   Are inner-city shopping centers possible and practical?

5. The Region:

   Regional industrial parks - the beginning of a regional tax structure.

   Open city or open region?